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VII.

DECAY AND REVIVAL.

1800—1830.

BY REV. JOS. BLOUNT CHESHIRE, JR.

The effort to organize the Diocese of North Carolina, and to procure the consecration of a Bishop, which was made by the Conventions of 1790, 1793, and 1794, failed utterly. These Conventions not only failed to accomplish their particular purpose and the object immediately in view, but they did not in any way revive the declining cause of the Church in North Carolina. They did not represent the birth of new energies, and the adaptation of the Church to her new surroundings; they were only the death-struggle of the old Colonial system.

The Church, even after all her losses, was probably still the strongest body in the State in the number of nominal adherents at the close of the Revolution. The greater part of our population lay east of Hillsboro. Most of the people of this section were of English blood, and were attached to the Church of the mother country. The Methodists were a growing body among them, but the Methodists still counted themselves Churchmen. The Baptists were also numerous, but as yet they had only two Associations in the State, and they were in every way of much less importance in the life of the community than they have since become. There were also many Presbyterians in the Scotch settlement of the Cape Fear; and the tide of immigration from Pennsylvania and Virginia along the foot-hills of the Appalachian range was still bringing numbers of the same faith into the settlements of their

brethren along the Yadkin and the Catawba. So numerous had the Presbyterians become by the year 1788, that in the Hillsboro Convention of that year, Mr. Abbott, of Camden county, reckoned them the most numerous body in the State. But this was after almost all the congregations of Churchmen in the State had for years been without any ministrations whatever; after the Methodists had abandoned their original position as a Society in the Church; and after the Churchmen of North Carolina had been reduced in most of our old parishes, to the sad alternative of abandoning the Church of their fathers, or of being wholly deprived of all privileges of common worship and instruction. In every county from Hillsboro to the sea-coast the scanty records of the Colonial Church speak of Churches and Chapels, and local tradition preserves the memory of many which are not mentioned in any known document. Some of these had been served by ordained ministers; many were supplied only by lay-readers. But in one way or the other the outward forms and services of the Church had been generally observed throughout the greater part of the Province, and the people had not forgotten the Mother Church. The enactment and re-enactment, all through our Colonial period of laws for the election of Vestrymen, the building of Churches, the support of ministers, and, in one or two instances, for the benefit of parish schools, show that whatever may have been the strength of the various Dissenting bodies prior to the Revolution, they did not feel able to oppose this public recognition and support of the Church.

In this general diffusion of the Church population, and their dependence upon legislative recognition and support, lay the weakness of the Colonial Church. The country was too poor and the population too sparse, to allow of the building up of strong local organizations with their established institutions and endowments, which by a sort of moral and intellectual momentum should carry the Church

through the crisis of change from one system to another; as was the case in New York and Pennsylvania, and to some extent also in Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. At the same time the deceptive legal status, and the legislative provision for the Church, obscured her essentially spiritual character, and prevented her people from crystalizing in strong and self-reliant congregations capable of sustaining themselves by the power of their faith in the divine authority of the Church and their love for her as a spiritual kingdom among men; as was the case with the Churchmen of Connecticut and the other New England States.

In some few places in the Eastern part of the State there were comparatively strong local organizations. In Edenton, Newbern, and Wilmington, the Church people held together, and preserved some feeble sparks of light even during the darkest period. At the other extremity of the State, Parson Miller gathered together the handful of Churchmen of Lincoln and Rowan counties, who had never enjoyed the disadvantage of any participation in the old legal establishment, but who recognized the spiritual character of the Church; and in spite of his fatal error, whereby he compromised his principles and stultified his position, in consenting to receive Lutheran ordination, he did keep alive some little sense of loyalty to the Church in that distant field from 1785 until the happy revival under Bishop Ravenscroft, which he was permitted to see. But in all the intervening country the Church went utterly to decay. It had no strong organization, which by the power of numbers and of established institutions might have served to keep it together until it could adjust itself to its new conditions, and learn the new methods made necessary by the change; and moreover, it had not that strength which comes from a clear conception of the spiritual kingdom, which must command men by laying hold upon their hearts and consciences, nor had Churchmen had their love

for their mother Church developed by distinct instruction in her principles, and by the habit of freely bearing the burden of her support in order to enjoy the benefit of her ministrations.

It has already been said that the Tarborough Conventions of 1790—'94 were not an indication of new life in the Church, but only the vain struggle of a dying system. This is apparent from the records of the Conventions. There had been in the Province of North Carolina no strong and vigorous parishes. The Colonial system did not tend to produce such. Even in Edenton, Newbern, and Wilmington, the ministers in charge had been missionaries of the society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as they were all over the Province. A notable exception to the rule was Edgecombe Parish, Halifax county, where the Rev. Thomas Burges was the minister from 1759 until some time about the period of the Revolution, under a special agreement with his vestry and without any stipend from the Society. But this exception is more in appearance than in reality, for his salary under the special agreement was only one hundred and twenty pounds in the paper money of the Province, a sum totally inadequate for the support of his family. It may therefore be affirmed with perfect accuracy that at the date of the Tarborough Conventions there was not a single vigorous congregational or parochial organization in the proposed Diocese of North Carolina. The loose method of the old Vestry Acts, which left the choice of Vestrymen to the free-holders of the parish,* in an election held by the Sheriff, not even

* As illustrating this statement the reader may refer to the letter of Mr. Charles Moore to Mr. Pettigrew, dated April 21st, 1796, and given on pages 207 and 206 of this volume. Mr. Moore there says that the vestrymen of the parish were to be elected on Easter Monday, at the same time when the inhabitants convene for the election of *Wardens of the Poor*. In like manner it appears by the circular letter sent out by the Convention of November, 1793, which will be found in the Appendix, that the parish elections therein provided for are to be held at the *Court*

requiring that the vestrymen should be members of the Church, had almost totally destroyed all sense of responsibility in the minds of Churchmen for the conduct of Church business, and by an unreasonable extension of privilege had sadly weakened the feeling of personal obligation and loyalty. By a common experience everybody's business came to be nobody's business. The first thing which the Church needed in 1790 was a Bishop; another thing it needed quite as much in fact, though not in theory, viz: the organization of its few zealous members into congregations, and the development of a spirit of loyal devotion to its service, and a sense of responsibility in the individual for the welfare and prosperity of the Church in his particular sphere. The old system had thrown the privilege upon the ground to be picked up by any who would: as a consequence it had been trampled under foot. The Church was now at liberty to prescribe the terms upon which her privileges should be enjoyed, and to command the allegiance of her children.

The failure of these Conventions to accomplish anything toward the revival of the Church in North Carolina was not solely because Mr. Pettigrew failed to be consecrated. That might easily have been remedied by a new election. The fact that there never was any prospect, or even possibility, of another election, would go far towards excusing him for having remained unconsecrated, had that been the

House door. Though these are slight particulars they show that there was a clinging to the old order of things, and a failure to appreciate the condition and necessities of the new situation.

It is interesting to observe in this connection that a distinct trace of the old religious establishment of the Province runs down through our civil institutions until the total overthrow of an old system in 1868. Up to that time, the county officers who had the charge of poor of the county were called *Wardens of the Poor*. This was but a survival of the old office of Church Wardens, stripped of its ecclesiastical functions, and confined to one of the duties which before the Revolution had been associated with others.

result of his own choice, which it certainly was not. These Conventions accomplished nothing permanent because they could not cast away the old methods of Colonial times, and rise to the demands of the hour. It is not meant that any mere resolution or direction put forth, different from what was done, would of itself have produced a different result; but the absence of a new spirit of vitality was manifested in this inability to rise to an appreciation of the needs of the time. Nothing whatever was done at any of the meetings towards the proper organization of the scattered congregations, or towards setting before the few large parishes their privileges and responsibilities as Churchmen. The Constitution adopted in 1794 provided that not only the parish vestries should send one delegate each to the Convention, but that each county should send two, and each town (*i. e.*, I suppose, the six "*borough towns*" of that date, Edenton, Newbern, Wilmington, Halifax, Hillsboro, and Salisbury), one, "to be elected by the people." No local organization was required to be formed or kept up, in order to be entitled to representation in the Convention. At the same time only one-third of the Clergy "and an equal number of the lay deputies" were required to make a quorum for the transaction of business. These may seem but small matters, but they indicate a condition of disorganization and an indefiniteness of allegiance most unfavorable to the Church. Her privileges were still to be made so common that they could not seem to possess any value, and no one need feel any special responsibility for her interests, which could be attended to by three Clergymen and a like number of laymen. The elections were to be held at the Court House in each county, according to the former custom, and the Church was thus kept as close as possible to the memories of the past "establishment," at the very time when of all things it was most needed that her spiritual character should be set forth and emphasized in the eyes not only of her own people, but of the community.

The subsequent history of Mr. Pettigrew need not be considered here, nor his efforts to arouse the interest of Churchmen in different parts of the State. It is enough to say that those efforts were fruitless. In Edenton, in Newbern, and in Wilmington, the parochial organizations were kept up, as perhaps also in one or two more obscure country or village congregations, and the people refused to accept any substitute for the old Church and her solemn services. When they were unable to procure a minister they had lay-reading, and from time to time the necessity called forth men to go forward and to seek Holy Orders that they might return, and keep the light burning in our few remaining shrines. From the end of the Revolution to the organization of the Diocese in 1817 no less than six candidates for orders went from the little handful of struggling Churchmen in North Carolina; Adam Boyd, from Wilmington; Solomon Halling, Thomas P. Irving, and John Phillips, from Newbern; James F. Wilson, from Martin County, and John Avery, from Edenton. There were in the three towns above mentioned a large number of people attached to the Church, and many of them persons of the first distinction and most exalted character. In Edenton, Gov. Johnston, Judge Iredell, Charles Johnson, William Littlejohn, the Blounts, Skinners, Collinses and others equally well known, made up a congregation which had every element of strength, if only they could have been aroused to a proper zeal. In Newbern, Dr. Isaac Guion, Col. Joseph Leech, the Nashes, Speights, Stanleys and Shepards, were of equal reputation and influence. In Wilmington almost the whole body of the most intelligent and prominent people were connected with the Church. Moore, Ashe, McLean, Hooper, De Rosset, Walker, Eagles, are names of families attached to the Church, and eminent for all civic and social virtues. And this was almost equally the case in every community through all the section of the State lying east of Hillsboro, except in

the Scotch settlements on the Cape Fear. The great body of the population, though under the defective and vicious ecclesiastical system of the Provincial period, they had been allowed to grow up in ignorance of her principles and insensible of their own responsibilities to the Church, were still Churchmen by tradition and by preference. Even in the West, in the region settled chiefly by the Scotch-Irish and the Germans, there were many Churchmen. In his missionary tours as evangelist of the Lutheran Synod, Parson Miller tells us that he found many members of the Church scattered among the Presbyterians of that section; and in Rowan and in Lincoln were very considerable communities of them. Such was the situation of affairs at the beginning of the present century.

It is easy to understand the rapid and total ruin which overtook the scattered congregations throughout the State after the failure of the attempt to revive the cause by means of the meetings at Tarborough. Ancestral regard for the Church and a preference for her doctrines and her mode of worship could not hold the congregations together after they had been deprived of her ministrations; nor could the most sincere belief in her divine origin and mission render her members entirely insensible of the advantage, and even the necessity, of actual communion with their fellow Christians in common worship, however defective that worship might be in respect to the authority of the minister or the mode of service. Add to this the natural desire of other religious bodies to recruit their ranks from so intelligent and influential a class, and the result needs not to be described. The Address to the General Convention drawn up in June, 1790, by the Rev. Mr. Pettigrew and Dr. John Leigh, declares that the "state of our Church in this Commonwealth is truly deplorable from the paucity of its Clergy and the multiplicity of opposing sectarians who are using every possible exertion to seduce its members to their different communions."

Another cause of weakness and decay, implied in what has already been said, but needing to be emphasized by a distinct enumeration, was the demoralized and hopeless feeling of Church people themselves, even those who remained faithful to the end. "*Possunt quia posse videntur*," is a maxim which holds equally good when thrown into the negative form. The Church was powerless because Clergy and laity thought that they were powerless. And this feeling arose not so much from the really hopeless condition of affairs, as from their inability to adjust themselves to the strange conditions of their new situation. This is apparent from the fact that this hopelessness and helplessness was greatest where there was least cause for it. Neither Wilmington* nor Edenton were represented in any of the Tarborough meetings; and although the purity of Mr. Pettigrew's motives and the sincerity of his devotion are altogether above question, yet a careful reading of his correspondence during this period convinces me that he felt but little confidence in those efforts for the revival of the Church, in which he bore so prominent a part. He was by natural disposition very averse to controversy or contention of any sort; and he must have seen that a new spirit could not be aroused in the Church, and new methods devised to set her in her true position, and to assert her proper influence in the community, without danger of violent opposition and bitter controversy and sharp criticism both within the Church and without. In a letter to Dr. John Leigh, of Tarborough, in regard to

* So little interest was taken by Wilmington in these meetings that when in 1813 Mr. Empie began his effort for the revival of the Church in the State and the organization of the Diocese he could learn nothing whatever of the attempt made by the Tarboro' meetings only twenty years before. When Bp. White's memoirs of the Church were published in 1820, they seem to have given him the first account of those Conventions which he had received, except what he had learned from Parson Miller's letters.

the proceedings at the meeting of June 5th, 1790, he writes:

The time employed in that Business was too short, and our hurry too great, to prepare anything for the public Eye; at a period too when there are so many would be Critics still agape for something to fault. And to be candid, there is nothing I dread more than the severe tribunal of the public.

It was probably his consciousness of this softness of natural disposition and his unfitness for taking the part of leader in what might prove a long and trying struggle, which made him reluctant to accept his election to the Episcopate in the first instance, and willing to give over the effort to obtain consecration when his first attempt seemed to be providentially frustrated. To the end of his life he remained faithful to his conception of ministerial duty, but the thought of making any further exertions to arouse the slumbering congregations throughout the State seems never to have crossed his mind.

It has been common to attribute the many defections from the Church during this sad period to the inefficiency, or even to the irreligion, of the Clergy. It is easy for those who desert the sinking ship to blame the officers: and then too we are glad to accept any explanation which those whom we love and honor may give of their conduct. But without questioning the honesty and sincerity of such persons, we may be allowed to doubt the faithfulness of their memory or the justness of their discrimination with respect to their motives. There may have been unfaithful and vicious men in the ministry then, as there have been since; but even where the ministers are known to have been most exemplary and diligent, the same gradual decay and loss was going on. No better men have ever served God and their fellow men in North Carolina, than Parson Burges in Halifax, Mr. Reed in Newbern, Mr. Stewart in Bath, and Clement Hall in Chowan, before the Revolution; and Mr. Pettigrew in Edenton, Nathaniel Blount in

Beaufort County, and Solomon Halling in Newbern and Wilmington, after the Revolution: and yet we do not find that the Church in these localities was exempt from the common experience.

It is a prevalent opinion that popular prejudice against the Church as the former legal establishment, associated by its very name with the memory of English rule, was the great cause of weakness and decay after the establishment of American independence. I believe that this feeling, so far as it applies to the Church in North Carolina, has been much exaggerated and misunderstood. The laws in favor of the Church had not been enforced in those parts of the Province where a majority of the people had not been in favor of them; and when the struggle with Great Britain had come on, almost all the leaders on the patriot side had been Churchmen. There must have been some such prejudice against the Church in parts of the State, though contemporary evidence of it is very scanty. But after the Church had ceased to be seen and known among the people, and when it was remembered only as a part of the old order of things, then it was I believe, that it acquired by association its share of the popular prejudice against all things British.

The true cause of the sad experience of lethargy and decay through which the Church had to pass before it could begin the upward course of real progress, is to be found in the three quarters of a century of state patronage which preceded the year 1776. This civil "establishment" had been maintained by the action of the people through their representatives in their legislative assemblies. It had never been felt to be a popular grievance, nor had it created prejudice against the Church among the people of the Revolutionary period. But it had produced a fatal weakness in the Church itself by obscuring its spiritual character and its divine claim upon the hearts and lives of its members. The people had not been

taught the duty and privilege of supporting the Church by their prayers, their offerings, and their personal service; and the Clergy had forgotten that it was not only honorable to the minister to "live of the Gospel," but they had lost sight of the fact that "even so had the LORD also ordained," for the good of the laity, who should thus be trained in love and gracious liberality, as well as for the support of the ministry in the discharge of their holy function. Mr. Pettigrew not only served the people of his neighborhood in the double capacity of pastor and physician, without compensation, but he built them a church. And he confesses that he was as unwilling to be dependent upon the people, as they were reluctant to give to his support. In a letter to the Rev. Nathaniel Blount, dated February 22d, 1804, he says: "I own that I derive a far greater pleasure from it," that is, from the exercise of the pastoral office, "than ever I did while as a dependant I received an emolument for my services." While the Colonial Vestry Acts made no adequate provision for the Church, even while they continued in force, their evil results remained long after they had been forgotten.

The decay and ruin wrought by the preceding causes would be too tedious to follow out in detail. It will be sufficient to indicate briefly the course of events in the few larger parishes where the remnant was left, which in God's good time was destined to take root downward and to bear fruit upward; and then, in tracing the progress of the gracious revival, to note how it was the smouldering brands of the old Colonial Churches, which by the spirit of the LORD were blown into a flame to show forth again the light of Apostolic truth in North Carolina. There are only three of these which demand our special attention, St. Paul's Church, Edenton, Christ Church, Newbern, and St. James's Church, Wilmington.

The parish of St. Paul's, Edenton, is, I believe, the

oldest corporation (using the word in its popular sense) in the State of North Carolina, dating back to the year 1701*. It still has for its parish Church the spacious and handsome brick structure erected in Colonial days, which was, with St. Philip's, Brunswick, probably the most ambitious building in the Province, with the exception of Tryon's famous "Palace." The character of the congregation has already been referred to. It suffered in common with other congregations, but as a rule the people remained faithful to the Church, and rejected with becoming spirit a proposition made during Mr. Pettigrew's incumbency, that the Church should be used for the purposes of other religious bodies. But the infrequency and irregularity of the services, and the consequent disuse to a great extent of the devotional and practical system of the Church, had a sad effect here as elsewhere; and for years after the revival of the Church, but a very small proportion of her people were communicants. From 1794 to his death in 1807, Mr. Pettigrew resided either in Bertie, or upon one or the other of his two plantations on the South side of the Sound, and his ministrations must have been infrequent; and after his death the parish was vacant for several years.

The part which the Edenton Academy played in the history of the parish is curiously illustrated by an arrangement made with the teacher of the Academy soon after Mr. Pettigrew's death. It has been shown in a previous paper† that the Academy at Edenton, as well as the one at Newbern, was strictly a Church school, built and maintained as such. And it is a most interesting fact that in

* St. Paul's Chowan, dates from the same year in which four other parishes were also organized, Currituck, Pasquotank, Perquimans, and Pamlico—Pamlico being the first name of the present parish of St. Thomas, Bath. I have, however, called St. Paul's the oldest, because it is the only one of the five, which was organized at once and has practically kept up its organization continuously to the present time.

† "Colonial Parishes and Schools," by the Rev. Robert B. Drane.

both places the Academy carried the parish through its most critical period, and so played a most important part in the life of the Church in North Carolina.

The curious arrangement referred to was in connection with the employment of Mr. Jonathan Otis Freeman, as teacher in the Academy in 1808-11. Mr. Freeman was a ———minister, though at that time there were none of his denomination in Edenton. The Trustees of the Academy and the Vestry of St. Paul's Church seem to have been to a great extent the same persons acting in the two capacities. The year after Mr. Pettigrew's death the Church being without a minister, we find the Trustees of the Academy paying Mr. Freeman six hundred dollars as teacher of the Academy, and four hundred dollars *for delivering lectures to the students on the Sabbath*. This was evidently a substitute for Sunday services. Mr. Freeman was a man of ability and culture, and though the Vestry could not accept his ministrations, yet they seem to have been desirous of availing themselves of his services to keep the Lord's Day with religious worship and instruction, so far as they could do so conscientiously. Mr. Freeman left in 1811. He was the elder brother of the late Bishop Freeman, and the father of the late Edmund B. Freeman, for many years the Clerk of our Supreme Court.

In 1811, the Trustees of the Academy applied to the Rev. Frederick W. Hatch, of Maryland, to take charge of the Church and of the Academy at the same salary paid Mr. Freeman, one thousand dollars per annum. He took charge October 1st, 1811, and though he resigned charge of the Academy at the end of the school-year in 1812, he continued rector of the Church until the end of the year 1815, when he returned to Maryland.

Mr. Hatch had been succeeded in the Academy by Mr. John Avery. About the time that Mr. Hatch left the parish Mr. Avery began to act as lay-reader, and soon after seems to have turned his thoughts to the ministry.

Mr. Avery was a native of Conway, Massachusetts, being the son of a Congregational deacon of the same name. An injury in youth, which disabled him temporarily for farm work, confined him to books, and contrary to his parents' first intention, he was sent to College, first to Williams College, Massachusetts, and afterwards to Yale, where he was graduated in 1812. Very soon after his graduation he went to Edenton as teacher in the Academy. It seems most likely that he became a Churchman after his removal to Edenton, as was the case with Mr. Pettigrew, who came to Edenton a Presbyterian, as Mr. Avery came a Congregationalist. When Mr. Avery became a candidate for Holy Orders we do not know, but he was ordered Deacon by Bishop Kemp, of Maryland, October 22d, 1817, and ordained Priest by Bishop Moore, of Virginia, at Norfolk in November, 1818. He married Miss Ann Paine, of one of the notable Edenton families, and continued Rector of St. Paul's Church until 1835, when he removed to Greensboro, Alabama. He did not long survive the severance of his old ties. He died January 17th, 1837, before he had fairly begun the work to which he had set himself in his new field.

Mr. Avery was a man of learning, and commanded the respect and confidence of all. He was faithful in the old exercise of Catechising the youth of his flock. One of the oldest of our North Carolina Clergymen, whose mother for a time during this period was connected with the Methodist Society in Edenton, loves to recall the fact that his mother not only continued the constant use of her Prayer Book and was diligent in teaching him the Church Catechism, but also sent him regularly to the church to be catechised by Mr. Avery upon the appointed days. It is impossible to estimate how far this single influence may have gone in eventually bringing parents and children back to the Church of their fathers. The history of Mr. Avery's pastorate does not come within the scope of this

paper, but his accession to the Church, and his candidacy for Holy Orders are properly a part of the story of the Revival of the Church in North Carolina.

In this connection it may be mentioned as an evidence of life in the parish, that the Church building, completed shortly before the Revolution, and now for some years having been in a dilapidated condition, was in 1809 by the liberality of one of the parishioners, Mr. Josiah Collins, the first of the name, handsomely restored and beautified, and put in a thoroughly safe and comfortable condition.

The course of events in the history of Christ's Church, Newbern, runs somewhat paralled with that which we have just traced in Edenton. From 1785 to 1792, the minister of the parish was the Rev. Leonard Cutting, a man of piety and learning, and of high reputation in the Church. In 1792, Dr. Solomon Halling, a native of Pennsylvania and bred a physician, but who was probably teaching in the Newbern Academy at this time, was ordered Deacon by Bishop Madison; and served the Church in Newbern until his removal to Wilmington in 1795. Dr. Halling was a most exemplary man, and the most zealous Clergyman of his time in the State. It was by his earnest assiduity that the Convention of 1794 was gotten together. If the other ministers had had his enterprising and courageous spirit we should have had another tale to tell here to-day.

Among the subscribers to F. X. Martin's "Private Statutes of North Carolina," published in 1795, I find the name, "Mr. Thomas Pitt Irving, A. M., Principal of Newbern Academy," and the next year his name is among those of persons ordained to the Diaconate by Bishop White, of Pennsylvania. He was a native of Somerset County, Maryland. How long he had been teaching in Newbern I do not know. It was during his occupancy that the old Academy building, erected by Mr. Reed before the Revolution, was burned; and he had the misfortune to

burn down also Gov. Tryon's "Palace," which the General Assembly had allowed to be used for the purposes of the Academy after his first fire. So it may be said that Mr. Irving's school-teaching was disastrous to the historical monuments of Newbern. And his pastorate was by no means a prosperous one. He remained in charge of the Church from his ordination until about the year 1813, when he removed to Hagerstown, Maryland. He is said to have been lacking in zeal and religious fervor, and to have performed his duties in a cold and perfunctory manner. Some of the most prominent people of the parish left the Church during his time, yielding to the unfavorable influences heretofore alluded to, and attracted by the enthusiasm of the Methodists on the one hand, or by the more sober spirits of Calvinism on the other.

After Mr. Irving left, the Rev. George Strebeck was Principal of the Academy and Rector of the Church for a short while. He employed as his assistant teacher during the year 1814, Mr. John Phillips, who had come from England originally as one of Wesley's lay-preachers, and whose wife was a ward of one of the two famous brothers, but who had adhered to the Church when the Methodists left it. While in Newbern Mr. Phillips became a candidate for Orders, and was ordained by Bishop Moore, of Virginia, in August 1814. He continued to assist Mr. Strebeck in the school, and now also in the Church, until his removal to Virginia in 1815. Mr. Strebeck probably left about the same time. In 1816 came the Rev. Jehu Curtis Clay, who also combined teaching with his pastoral duties. This brings us to the year 1817.

Of Wilmington we know very little during the period immediately following the Revolution. Adam Boyd, who had edited a paper, "*The Cape Fear Mercury*," in that city before the war, and who was Chaplain of the 5th North Carolina Regiment of the Continental Line during the struggle, was ordained Deacon by Bishop Seabury,

August 18th, 1788. He was a native of Pennsylvania, but married in Wilmington the widow of Moses John De Rosset, and is thought to have officiated in St. James's Church for several years, probably from 1788 to 1795 or thereabouts, though there is no mention of him in the records of the parish. He must have been a preacher of some sort before his ordination by Bishop Seabury, as his appointment to be Chaplain of the 5th Regiment, in 1777, shows. He was doubtless the same "Rev. Mr. Boyd" who in May, 1775, presented to the Provincial Congress at Hillsboro, two hundred copies of "the Pastoral Letter of the Synod of Philadelphia on the subject of the war." This fact suggests the idea that Mr. Boyd might then have been an agent or representative of the Synod. But at this time he had been for some months publishing his paper in Wilmington. He was active upon the patriot side, and was a member of the Wilmington Committee of Safety. The minutes of the Committee's proceedings show that Mr. Boyd was absent from just those meetings which he must have missed in order to attend the Congress at Hillsboro. His paper seems to have been the recognized organ of the party in Wilmington, and he probably printed the Pastoral Letter as a good party document to circulate among the Presbyterians of the Cape Fear; and the two hundred copies were probably presented by him to the Congress as his own individual act, and not as in any way representing the Philadelphia Synod. This is the more likely from the fact that the Congress appropriated a sum of money out of the public funds for his benefit. He seems to have been the son of a Presbyterian minister of the same name, whose wife was Jane Craighead, daughter of the Rev. Thos. Craighead, also a Presbyterian minister. As he is spoken of in 1775 as the "Rev. Mr. Boyd," and was appointed Chaplain of a regiment in 1777, he was probably a Presbyterian "licentiate;" I believe there is no record of his ordination as a Presbyterian minister. After his ordi-

nation by Bishop Seabury he officiated, as has been said, in Wilmington, but was soon forced to remove to Augusta on account of some asthmatic trouble. He died in Natchez, Mississippi, in the year 1800, at the age of sixty-two.

In 1795, the Rev. Solomon Halling was called from Newbern, and continued Rector of St. James's Church until his removal to the Diocese of South Carolina in the year 1809. While in Wilmington he was principal of the Wilmington Academy. His character has already been given in connection with his rectorship of Christ Church, Newbern. It only remains to be said that in the Diocese of South Carolina he continued the same course of devout faithfulness, and endeared himself to all his brethren in that new home. He died in 1813, much honored and lamented by the Bishop and the Clergy of that Diocese.

After Dr. Halling's departure the parish at Wilmington remained vacant until November, 1811, when the Rev. Adam Empie became rector. In 1814, ill health compelled him to return North, and he was succeeded by the Rev. Bethel Judd. But in 1816, he returned to Wilmington, and became again rector of the parish. It will be seen as we go on that he played a very important part in the history of the Church in North Carolina: no name should stand higher than his in our respect and affection. We have however no space adequately to portray his character here.

Having traced the course of events in these three parishes with some particularity, it now becomes necessary to glance more briefly at some other parts of the State.

In Bath, and in the new town of Washington, as well as across the Pamlico river at Chocowinity, where he had built Trinity Church (still standing, and familiarly known as Parson Blount's Chapel), and in other places in Beaufort County; also up the river on both sides, through the county of Pitt, and even in the borders of Edgecombe,

the Rev. Nathaniel Blount continued his ministrations; and amid the gloom of domestic bereavements darkening the shadows of declining years and failing powers, he served his scattered congregations and looked after his people, so far as his strength would permit; until his death in September, 1816. His summons came while he was like a faithful shepherd seeking his distant sheep. He died in Pitt County, and his mortal remains were conveyed down Tar river in a canoe, and laid with the ashes of his fathers in the Blount family burying ground at Chocowinity. He was the last survivor of our Colonial Clergy in North Carolina. His death left not a single minister of the Church in the State.

His neighbor, the Rev. James L. Wilson, of Martin county, had been dead for some years. Mr. Wilson, who seems to have gone North from this State seeking Holy Orders, was ordained by Bishop White, as we learn from Bishop White's memoirs of the Church, in the year 1789; and in Mr. Pettigrew's list of the Clergy and their places, of 1795, we see that his field of labor was Martin and Edgecombe counties. His connection with the conventions at Tarborough shows that he was a most zealous and devoted minister, and highly respected and trusted by all. He is the only one of the Clergy who attended every one of the four meetings held at Tarborough. He was president of one of them; was more than once appointed a deputy to the General Convention, and was a prominent man in all. He continued his ministry in Martin and perhaps also in Edgecombe and Halifax, until his death early in the present century. He is known to have officiated in the last named county at a funeral as late as the year 1800. He must have died very soon after this date. He seems to have ministered to the lower congregations of Halifax upon occasions of emergency, and thus to have continued in some measure the work and influence of Parson Burges, especially in the neighborhood of old Kehukee Church, Scotland Neck.

In Edgecombe county the building of the town of Tarborough so far from the site of St. Mary's, the parish Church, probably had a good deal of influence in breaking up local associations and thus scattering and weakening the congregation. The principal inhabitants of the county would gradually be drawn towards the county town, and the parish Church thus lose its position and influence as a center of interest and a bond of union and fellowship among the people. And before a Church could grow up there, the war came and swept all away. After the Revolution we hear indistinct traditions of the Rev. Wm. Holt, from Virginia, who for a time officiated at St. Mary's, probably for only a short time, and before the year 1789. The Parish Register was for many years kept at the house of Mr. Knight, about four miles from Tarborough, but after the death of the older members of the family, it was destroyed by their children, who did not realize its value. The Bible and Prayer Book, after the Church had come to be disused, were sold by order of the County Court, and the money paid over to the "Wardens of the Poor."* Some time towards the end of the century a Church was built in Tarborough, which was pulled down about 1856. Uniform tradition represented this as having been built for an Episcopal Church, and it is not impossible that the Tarborough Conventions may have been held in it. As late as 1821, the Rev. John Phillips is described in an inscription upon a tomb-stone near the building as "Rector of this Church." But as there was no minister

* These statements as to the Parish Register and the disposition of the Bible and Prayer Book belonging to St. Mary's, are made upon the authority of Gov. Henry T. Clark, and were accompanied by such a narration of particular circumstances, as established their truth. The sale of this property of the Parish was in accordance with the provisions of the Act of 1777, C. VII, or rather it was probably suggested by that Act, which made the Wardens of the Poor answerable for debts of former Vestries, and so it might be thought entitled them to take abandoned Church property.

in Tarborough for many years after the building was erected, it came to be used as a free Church open to all sorts of services and meetings; and shortly before it was pulled down the Primitive Baptist congregation having erected a church in the town took the bell of the old church and put it into their own new structure. But there remained a number of the inhabitants of the county attached to the Church. Definite and trustworthy tradition connects with the old Church of St. Mary's many of the familiar names of the county. Besides the Haywoods, Johnstons, Tooles, Irvins, Penders, Knights, Philippses, Suggses, and others, still largely represented in the population of Edgecombe, who were old St. Mary's people, we find a number of prominent men in Tarborough during this period of "Decay," who were active in their endeavors for the Church. Dr. John Leigh, of Tarborough, was eminent both as a physician and a politician. He frequently represented his county in the House of Commons, and was more than once Speaker of that body. William Clements, Secretary of three of the Tarborough Conventions, and deputy to the General Convention, seems to have been originally a Presbyterian, the first we have heard of in the county, but he married into a Church family (his wife was a daughter of Christopher Clark, of Bertie), and, after Dr. Leigh, he was the most prominent layman in those Conventions, and in the effort to organize the Diocese and to procure a Bishop. We find also the names of Mr. Robert White, a lawyer, representing Tarborough in 1794, and Mr. James Adams representing Edgecombe. General Thomas Blount, (son of Jacob Blount,) whose second wife was the daughter of General Jethro Sumner, of Warren, was also a resident of Tarborough during this period and a Churchman, as was also Blake Baker, Attorney General of the State, the Hon. Jas. W. Clark, and others. The bearing of these personal details will appear when we come to consider the Revival of the Church in North Carolina.

In Warren and Franklin counties the Rev. Chas. Cupples had ministered before and during the Revolution. He is well remembered as having taken the American side in the Revolution, though himself an Englishman. How long he lived after the Revolution is not known. He was certainly dead some years before the Tarborough Conventions, but the memory of his ministrations and of the Church was not lost for many years among the people whom he served. One of his Churches, still remembered as "*the old Portridge Church*" (I spell by sound never having seen the word written or printed) stood until between 1850 and 1860, in a grove near the road from Louisburg to Franklinton about four miles from the former place. He probably resided near the present town of Warrenton. There are not a few Churchmen in those counties who trace their ecclesiastical descent from the old Colonial Churches. The Seawells, Branches, Hills, Hawkinses, Sumners, Perrys and Norwoods were members of the old churches in Bute.

Just west of these, and taking in also part of this field after the death of Mr. Cupples, the Rev. George Micklejohn, ended his work as a minister. Having been captured with the Tories at Moore's Creek, and paroled to Perquimans county, and not allowed to return to Hillsboro during the war, he seems never to have resided there afterwards, but to have made his home in Granville county from the close of the war until his removal to Mecklenburg county, Virginia, which was somewhere about the year 1805 or 1810. These dates are conjectural, but we know that before 1817 he had made this change, though he was then near or quite one hundred years old, and never had any charge in Virginia. When the Rev. John Stark Ravenscroft was ordained in 1817 and took charge of St. James's Church, Mecklenburg county, Virginia, Mr. Micklejohn was a resident of the parish, and an attendant upon the ministrations of the future Bishop of North

Carolina. There is a tradition in the parish that Mr. Ravenscroft once in a sermon alluded to the presence of Mr. Micklejohn, saying that he could give a century's witness to the truth and power of the gospel. "*Naw, Naw, Mon!*" exclaimed Mr. Micklejohn aloud in broad Scotch, "*ninety acht! ninety acht!*" He died very shortly after this time. As long as he remained in North Carolina he ministered irregularly over a wide extent of country, besides serving regularly the people in his neighborhood. I presume he resided near Williamsboro, and that he had charge of St. John's Church; but at least occasionally he visited the remote parts of Orange, his former cure, and by these visits, by celebrating divine service at intervals and by baptizing the children, he kept the people in some sort of knowledge and love of the Church as far west as the present county of Alamance. I have myself known and ministered to persons in Orange county who had been baptized by Mr. Micklejohn, and one of them at least was old enough at the time of her baptism to remember it, and to give me some account of it. It seems probable that he removed to Virginia not much before the year 1810.

And all during this period the Rev. Robert Johnston Miller, another Wesleyan lay-preacher, who had remained faithful to the Church when Coke had organized the American Methodists into an independent body, kept his little congregations of Churchmen at White Haven, and in Iredell and Rowan, in such knowledge of the Church as he had himself, looking for better times to come, and, as he wrote to Dr. Empie in 1814, *longing more for nothing on this side the glory of heaven than to see the revival of Episcopacy in our beloved country*, though at that time he was a member of the Lutheran Synod.

THE REVIVAL.

The pleasanter part of the story can be more briefly narrated. The facts are more accessible and need not be so circumstantially detailed.

It is well known that the leading clergyman in North Carolina at the time of the organization of the Diocese was the Rev. Adam Empie; but I believe it is not so generally known that the meeting at Newbern in April 1817, when that organization was accomplished, was the result of the efforts of Mr. Empie, begun more than three years before. A correspondence between Mr. Empie and Parson Miller has lately come to my hands, begun in November, 1813, from which it appears that at that date Mr. Empie was endeavoring to put himself in communication with the remaining Clergymen of the State with a view of inducing them to effect an organization, and to make another effort for the cause. This purpose, postponed for a time by his temporary absence from the State, but not abandoned, was renewed upon Mr. Empie's return in the Autumn of 1816. The Journals of our Conventions seem to indicate that Parson Miller was no ways concerned with this new movement in the Church until several years after its successful initiation. This correspondence, however, shows that he had been consulted about it, and had given his counsel and sympathy from the first; though until 1821, the places of meeting were so distant from his residence that it was entirely impracticable for him to attend the Conventions.

When in response to Mr. Empie's efforts a meeting was agreed upon, the four congregations which met at Newbern on the 24th of April, 1817, by their representatives, were St. James's Church, Wilmington; Christ Church, Newbern; St. Paul's Church, Edenton, and St. John's Church, Fayetteville. Three of these, we have seen, had from an early period been organized parishes of the Province of North Carolina. The fourth, St. John's Church, Fayetteville, is a new name in our annals, dating only from the year 1817. What is the story of its birth?

Fayetteville, formerly Campbelltown, and before that Cross Creek, was the centre of the Scotch Presbyterian

settlements on the Cape Fear, where perhaps still linger some echoes of the Gaelic tongue. These Highlanders were valiant Tories during the Revolution, though it must be owned that they had some of their Episcopal brethren from Orange with them on their disastrous day at Moore's Creek. After the Revolution, the movement of population, so characteristic of our American life, brought together in Fayetteville a number of Churchmen from different parts of the country. First among the number was John Winslow, son of Edward Winslow who, during his life had served the Church faithfully as a clergyman in Massachusetts and Connecticut before the Revolution. Then there were the Stranges and Camerons, Churchmen from Virginia; and other names. Tillinghast, Huske, Wright, Mallett, Henry, some our own people, others new comers into the State, but having in common their attachments to the Church. In January, 1817, the Rev. Bethel Judd, who was at Wilmington, but was no longer rector of the Church there, was invited to Fayetteville by Mr. John Winslow. He came and held services. He continued these services, and on Easter Monday, April 9th, organized St. John's Church, Fayetteville, and with John Winslow, his Senior Warden, took part, two weeks later, in organizing the Diocese of North Carolina. St. John's was a new parish; the services of the Church had never been held in Fayetteville before 1817, but the parish was mostly made up of persons whose connection with the Church ran back and found its root in Colonial times. From its first organization St. John's, Fayetteville, took a zealous and important part in all Church work: it showed the best qualities of youth and none of its faults.

Having now before us the spectacle of the Church in North Carolina at length aroused and preparing to begin a more hopeful course, I desire to set forth one aspect of that movement, to which attention has not heretofore been directed; and if I can illustrate it by brief references to some

details of local Church history, I shall feel that the subject of this paper has been sufficiently treated. The proposition which I maintain is this: That the work of the first Conventions and the first Bishop of this Diocese was simply to gather together and to organize the remains of the old Colonial Church in the several localities where it had been most successfully established, and that we to-day are the ecclesiastical and spiritual representatives in fact, and not merely in theory, of the Church which our Anglo-Saxon fathers set up here to sanctify the new continent which they were subduing and civilizing.

I will not enter upon the story of the early Conventions of our Diocese, except so far as they bear upon the proposition above set forth. But taking the records of those meetings, we find that after the four parishes which met at Newbern in April, 1817, the following were admitted into union with the Convention from 1817 to 1830, omitting two or three names which never were much more than names.

To go over the list is almost like calling the roll of the Churches and Missionary Stations of the old Colonial preachers, who, after the Revolution continued their work in the State: St. Jude's, Stony Creek, Orange county; Trinity Church, Tarborough; St. John's Church, Williamsboro; St. Mary's, Orange county; Emmanuel Church, Warrenton; Christ Church, Rowan; St. Michael's, Iredell; St. Peter's, Lexington; White Haven and Smyrna, Lincoln; Grace Chapel, Pitt; St. Mark's, Halifax; Calvary Church, Wadesboro; Christ Church, Raleigh; St. Andrew's, Burke; St. Stephen's, Oxford; St. Matthew's, Kinston; Zion and Trinity, Beaufort county; St. Thomas's, Bath; St. Peter's, Lincoln; St. Luke's, Salisbury; St. Peter's, Washington; St. Matthew's, Hillsboro; St. James's, Greenville. This brings us to the end of Bishop Ravenscroft's administration at the beginning of the year 1830.

Now let us analyze the foregoing list:

1. St. Judes, Stony Creek, Orange county (now Alamance); St. Mary's, Orange county; Emmanuel Church Warrenton; St. John's, Williamsboro; St. Stephen's, Oxford, and St. Matthew's, Hillsboro; *Class one.*

2. Grace Church, Pitt county; St. Matthew's, Kinston; Zion and Trinity, Beaufort county; St. Thomas's, Bath; St. Peter's, Washington, and St. James's, Greenville; *Class two.*

3. St. Mark's, Halifax, to which may be added Trinity Church, Scotland Neck, soon after admitted; *Class three.*

4. Christ Church, Rowan; St. Michael's, Iredell; St. Peter's, Lexington; White Haven, Smyrna, and St. Peter's, Lincoln, and St. Luke's, Salisbury; *Class four.*

5. Trinity (in 1833, re-admitted as Calvary) Church, Tarborough; Calvary Church, Wadesboro, and Christ Church, Raleigh; *Class five.*

This analysis brings out most distinctly the fact that the movement of 1817-1830 was truly a revival of old things. It shows that the Diocese of North Carolina not only laid its foundations along the lines of the old Colonial Church, but that it traced those lines backward from the point to which they had been brought down by the laborers who longest continued their work after the failure of the Tarborough Conventions.

Class One represents accurately the extent of the labors of the Rev. George Micklejohn, President of the Convention of November, 1790. Everyone of the parishes of this class is within the bounds of his first jurisdiction while Rector of St. Matthew's, Hillsboro, which he continued to visit until some years after the beginning of the present century; or it is part of the field which he served with more regular care after his settlement in Granville. If some hesitation should be felt at including Warrenton in this class, it will be removed when it is learned that distinct memories and associations in the Norwood family connect Mr. Micklejohn and John Norwood, of Franklin,

who was a most zealous Churchman and faithful lay-reader in the congregations formerly served by Parson Cupples, in Franklin and Warren counties. The relations in which Mr. Norwood and Parson Micklejohn stood to each other show clearly that the latter had the pastoral oversight of those congregations which the former served as lay-reader. After Mr. Norwood's son, the late Judge William Norwood, had removed to Hillsboro, his was one of the families which Parson Micklejohn regularly visited for the purpose of baptizing the children and otherwise ministering to them as occasion might serve.

Though there are comparatively few instances in which the names of the parishioners can be traced by documentary evidence from one period to the other, yet in many cases there are distinct traditions all over this field showing that the parishes above named at their first organization were composed of the old Colonial Churchmen. St. Jude's, Stony Creek, was chiefly composed of the Davises and Lattas, remnants of the old Colonial Church population. The names of Colonial Churchmen of Granville, Henderson, Taylor, &c., are among the first that appear in the Journals of the Diocese. Bishop Ravenscroft in his address to the Convention of 1828, refers to this:

Along the northern line of the Diocese, from Edenton westward, we have many friends, the descendants of Episcopal families, who would hail with gladness the revival of the Church, where, in former days, there were flourishing congregations, now scattered and peeled away; and where there are yet many buildings standing, some of them in decent repair, and the exclusive property of the Episcopal Church, but now, and long, silent to the responses of her Liturgy.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the old St. Matthew's Church, Hillsboro, stood upon the site now occupied by the Presbyterian Church, and the surrounding grave-yard is strictly speaking still the property of the Episcopal Church, being secured by an ordinance of the Provincial Congress of 1776, along with all other Church property in the State. The present brick structure was

erected somewhere about the year 1810 by subscription, and for general use. The Presbyterians being the first to have a resident minister came to occupy it regularly, and so it gradually passed under their control; but so far as is known, they have never asserted any legal ownership of it.* The old St. Matthew's Church had been a wooden structure, and fell to decay about the end of the last century. It was the place of meeting of the famous State Convention of 1788, which rejected the Federal Constitution, though Mr. McRee in his life of Judge Iredell has fallen into the error of saying that that Convention was held "in the Presbyterian Church." There was no Presbyterian Church in Hillsboro at that date.

Class Two is hadly more than a list of the places upon the regular circuit of the Rev. Nathaniel Blount, so far as we can ascertain the bounds of his work. Unvarying tradition throughout this section ascribes the survival of any knowledge of the Church during this period, to his faithful ministrations. In speaking of his first visitation made to the several congregations and parishes of Beaufort county, including Trinity Church, Chocowinity, which he calls by its popular title of "Blount's Chapel," Bishop Ravenscroft says:

In the section of country through which I have just passed it glads my heart, brethren, to find the affections of so many of the inhabitants still strong towards the Church of their fathers; and * * * * to find such numbers quite at home in our Liturgy, and prepared and desirous to profit by those apostolic services which they had learned to revere as wise appointments of the great Head of the Church, &c.

And as late as 1836 upon the application of the congregation of St. Paul's Parish, Swift Creek, Craven county, (which was near the residence of Jacob Blount, an eminent churchman and citizen of Colonial times and of his son

* These facts, which were familiar to the older inhabitants of Hillsboro, have not been generally known by the later generation. Besides other authorities, I had them from the late Jno. W. Norwood, Esq., who himself remembered the whole history of the present building.

William Blount, an eminent statesman of our Sub-Revolutionary period) the Committee to whom the application had been referred, say in their report:

Prior or immediately subsequent to the Revolution in this country, Divine Services were regularly held there by a Clergyman of the Church of England, and * * the majority, if not all those residing in the vicinity, were then attached to the Doctrines of the Protestant Episcopal Church; * * upon the death of the Rev. Mr. Blount, Divine Services were discontinued there.

It is interesting to note that the first movement for the organization of a parish in Washington and its union with the Convention of the Diocese, appears by our Journals to have been made by one of his name and family, the late Maj. Thomas H. Blount.

Class Three is hardly a class at all, being only the single county of Halifax, but the Church as here revived had a most direct connection with the old Colonial parish of Edgecombe, as Halifax county by a strange arrangement, was denominated. St. Mark's Church in the town of Halifax probably represented what remained of Parson Burges's congregation in the town and at his neighboring chapel of Conocanara. But we know somewhat more of Trinity Church, Scotland Neck. It was organized near the site, and out of the remains of the old congregation of Kehukee Chapel, the lower chapel of Edgecombe Parish. When Trinity Church was organized in 1832, it was composed in part of the following persons who had been baptized members of the Colonial Church, some in that parish, others in other parts of the Province; Dr. Simons J. Baker and Mrs. Baker, Mrs. Thomas B. Hill, Mrs. R. W. Lowrie, William R. Smith, Sr., Mrs. Sarah W. Smith, Miss Sallie Packer, Rebecca, a slave, and others whose names are not remembered.

Class Four represents the work of Parson Miller in keeping alive the love of the Church in a region which never had the benefit of regular ministerial services until after 1817, but where the people resolutely held to their

Church principles inherited from their fathers. When Mr. Miller attended the Convention of 1794 he came from a few little congregations of Church people upon the west bank of the Catawba, whom, by acting as lay-reader and chatechist, he kept together in faith that the divine blessing upon the Church would ensure them the means of enjoying its privileges, if only they should continue faithful. To these congregations on the Catawba he afterwards added Christ Church, Rowan, and St. Michael's, Iredell. Thirty years passed in vain expectation; and yet at the end of that time he stood up in the Convention at Salisbury with the same little congregations, faint but not despairing, *the only congregations in North Carolina, outside the three towns of Edenton, Newbern, and Wilmington, which had preserved any kind of being from the time of the Tarborough Conventions until the successful organization of the Diocese in 1817.* In 1794 he and the lay representatives of his congregations had voted for Mr. Pettigrew for Bishop; in 1823 they came up again and voted for Bishop Ravenscroft. He himself is the only man who was in both these Conventions: he is the link between the Conventions at Tarborough and the present Diocese of North Carolina.

Class Five is a miscellaneous class, embracing the congregations at Tarborough, Wadesboro, and Raleigh, and at first sight seems to be an exception to the rule, being in the fields of none of the Clergy who survived the Revolution. Of the history of the Church in Wadesboro before the organization of the parish in 1822 I know nothing.

When the congregation at Tarborough was organized by the Rev. John Phillips in 1819, as "Trinity Church" (in 1833 it was re-organized and re-admitted to the Convention as "Calvary Church") it was composed largely, if not wholly, of persons who were either actually members of the Church by baptism at old St. Mary's Parish Church, or attached to the Church by ancestral associations and

convictions. The names of the first members of the parish, Toole, Irvin, Blount, Spruill, Haywood, Evans, Lloyd, Clark, Parker, Cotten and Hines, are of families long inhabitants of that section, and all, so far as I know, members of the Church in Colonial days. The parish in Tarborough should have been called neither Trinity nor Calvary, but St. Mary's. It is not only locally the old parish of that name, but it sprang directly out of the Colonial parish, many of its first members having been members more or less remotely of old St. Mary's Parish, Edgecombe. The revival of the Church in this parish being so long deferred, and even after its nominal establishment in 1819 so many years elapsing, before the services of the Church were in fact regularly re-established and maintained, most of the families throughout the county forgot their old attachment to the Church, and in most cases their descendants are ignorant of the fact that their ancestors were once Churchmen.

In the history of the Revival of the Church in North Carolina the name of John Phillips deserves honorable mention. It has already been said that while acting as assistant to the Rev. Geo. Strebeck in the Newbern Academy in the year 1814 Mr. Phillips went on to Virginia, and was ordained by Bishop Moore, and that for the rest of the year 1814, he assisted Mr. Strebeck in the Church, as well as in the Academy. After the expiration of his year in Newbern he went to Virginia, but in 1818 he returned, and labored as a missionary in North Carolina until 1822. He organized the Church at Tarborough, also that at Warrenton, and was more or less instrumental in establishing or reviving the services of the Church in many places, from Hillsboro in one direction to Washington in the other. In 1820, he reports having travelled since the preceding Convention two hundred and twenty miles per month in the region lying between these two points. Tarborough, Washington, Warrenton, and Blount's

Chapel (Trinity Church, Chocowinity,) were his regular charge. The principal places occasionally visited by him were Hillsboro, Raleigh, Williamsboro, Oxford, Scotland Neck and some of the country congregations in Pitt and Beaufort counties. He was a man of great simplicity of character, which would sometimes have exposed him to ridicule, but for a vein of pure and fervent piety, which showed itself in every action, and stopped the mouths of gain-sayers. His health seems to have failed about 1822, and thereupon he returned to Virginia, where he died in 1831.

The parish at Raleigh is closely connected with the Church in Edgecombe county. It was under the ministry of Mr. Phillips, while rector of the Church in Tarborough, and acting as missionary in other parts, that the first steps were taken to organize the parish of Christ Church, Raleigh, and to build a church in 1820, though the parish was not organized and admitted to the Convention until 1822. When it was admitted it was represented by Chief Justice Taylor, the Hon. Wm. H. Haywood, Jr., and Dr. A. S. H. Burges. Judge Taylor was a member of the Church of England, but Mr. Haywood was the son of one of four brothers, all members of the old parish of St. Mary's, Edgecombe, who had removed to Raleigh when it became the Capital of the State; and Dr. Burges was the son of the Rev. Henry John Burges, rector of St. Mary's in 1770, but who afterwards moved to Virginia. It may also be mentioned that when Mrs. Blount, widow of the Hon. Thomas Blount, of Tarborough, and daughter of General Jethro Sumner, died at Tarborough in 1822. He left a large legacy to the Hon. Duncan Cameron and the Rev. Wm. Hooper, in trust, for the purpose of building an Episcopal Church, in the city of Raleigh. The value of this legacy was at the time estimated at from ten to fifteen thousand dollars. What was actually realized from it, and how far it became available for the pur-

poses of the trust, I cannot say. It is mentioned here to show in regard to the parish at Raleigh, to what an extent even a new parish, during this revival, had its roots in the affections and convictions of people whose religious principles had been obtained from sources back of these times: and also as being a pleasant link between the parish in Raleigh and the Church in Edgecombe. The parish at Raleigh was evidently made up of Churchmen from other counties drawn to this new centre of our Commonwealth, and perpetuating there the Church in which they had been brought up in other places.

This completes the task which I set myself, of tracing the story of the Revival of the Church in North Carolina from 1817 to the death of Bishop Ravenscroft in 1830, with reference to its bearing upon the proposition which I laid down, and undertook to maintain. That proposition was: That the work of the first Convention and the first Bishop of North Carolina was simply to gather together and to organize the remains of the old Colonial Church in the several localities where it had been most successfully established; and that we to-day are the ecclesiastical and spiritual representatives in fact, and not merely in theory, of the Church which our Anglo-Saxon fathers set up here to sanctify the new Continent which they were subduing and civilizing. This survey has, it is believed, sufficiently established the truth of that proposition. That it has not done so more fully is due partly to the limited space at command, and partly to the meagreness of the accounts which we have of local Church matters during the period under review. But it has been shown beyond all question that the formation of the Diocese of North Carolina was only the organization and perpetuation of principles and forces which had never ceased to be operative in the life of our people.

Though the course of the argument in this paper has not allowed of much space being given to the consideration of

the characters and lives of individuals except as they were associated with the internal developement of our Diocesan History, yet a word must be said, before closing, of him who first received Episcopal authority in and over the State of North Carolina. The Convention of 1817 upon organizing the Diocese applied to the Bishop of Virginia and requested him to take the infant Diocese under his pastoral oversight. This he consented to do, and in performing this duty he made four visitations in North Carolina, in 1819, 1820, 1821, and 1822, and presided in the Conventions of those years, signing the Journal as "Bishop of the two Dioceses of Virginia and North Carolina." In the depressed condition of the Church at that time, and in view of the popular prejudice against it, the value of the services of such a man cannot be overestimated. His attractiveness as a preacher commanded popular attention, the beauty and dignity of his character conciliated popular favor, and the simple, yet unmistakable holiness of his life was the best exposition, both to those within and to those without, of the true character of a Churchman. The Diocese of North Carolina will always be proud and grateful to write first upon the roll of her Apostolic overseers the name of RICHARD CHANNING MOORE, of Virginia.

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